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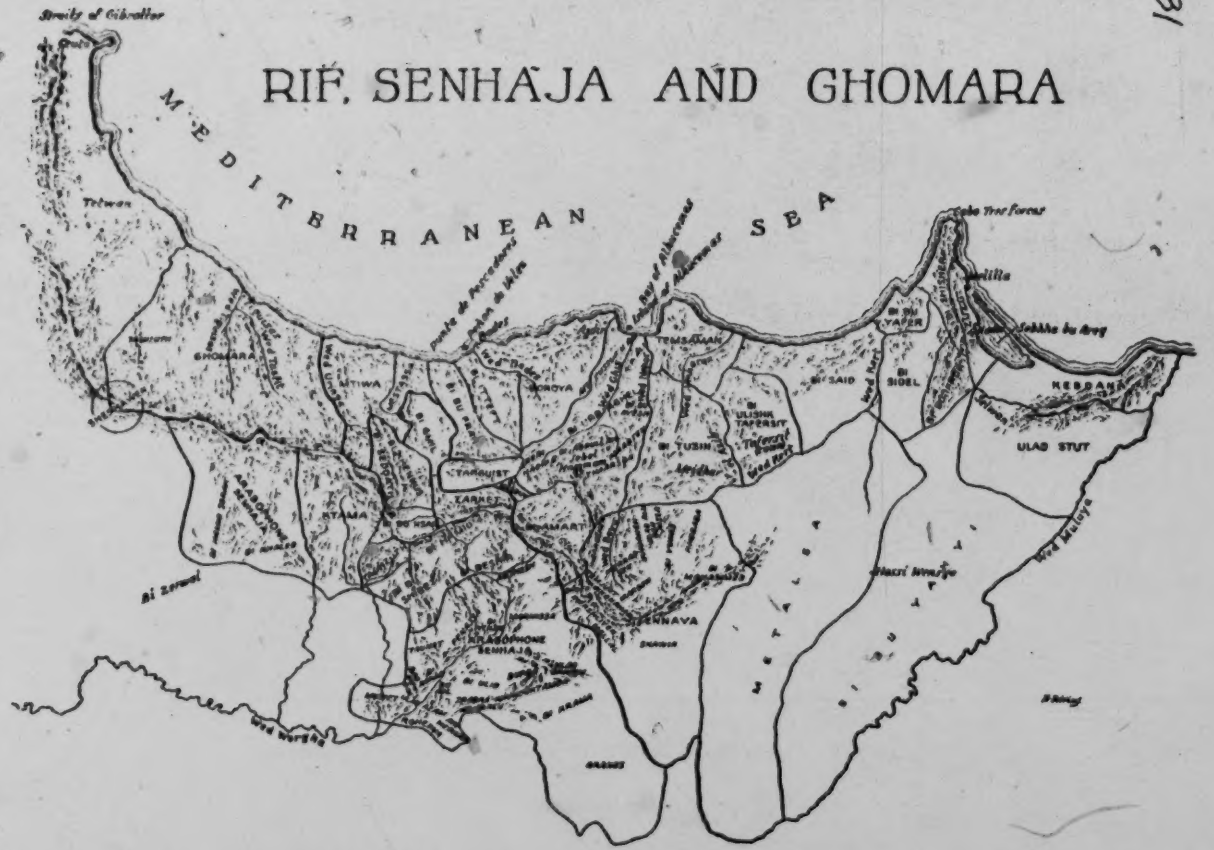
RIF, SENHAJA AND GHOMARA



[p. 2]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

1: Coon E4-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE territory with which this book is concerned is of small area, despite the fact that it contains continental extremes of environment. It extends along the Mediterranean coast of Morocco from approximately one degree and twenty-six minutes west longitude to approximately one degree and twenty minutes east longitude, possessing about one hundred and forty-five miles of Mediterranean coast-line; its most northerly point is at approximately thirty-five degrees and twenty-nine minutes north latitude, and its most southerly at about thirty-four degrees and nineteen minutes north latitude. The greatest distance north and south in a vertical line in this area is approximately fifty-three miles. This territory, small as it is, includes three distinct provinces, or regions: the Rif, the Ghomara, and what may be called the Northern Senhaja.

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TRIBAL BOUNDARIES

Rif. The Rif occupies the eastern portion of this area and is greater in size than the Senhaja and Ghomara combined. Its westernmost border is the Wed Uringa, which separates it from the Ghomara, and its eastern the Wed Muluya, which separates it from the Zenatan tribe of Beni Znassen and from the Arabs who live to the southeast of that stream. Of these Arab tribes, one has already encroached on Riffian territory by locating permanently west of the river — the Ulad Stut, a nomadic tribe of Bedawin, much mixed with Riffian blood.

There are eighteen more or less distinct tribes in the Rif proper. These are Kebdana, Galiya, Beni Said, Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Targuist, Bokoya, Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, Mestassa, and Mtiwa.[1] The location of these tribes can be ascertained by a study of the map opposite page 3. It will be seen that the largest tribes geographically are Galiya (which includes Mazuza, Beni Shisher, Beni Sidel, Beni Bu Ifrur, and Beni Bu Yafer), Beni Urriaghel, Gzennaya, Metalsa, and Beni Bu Yahyi. The largest in point of population is Beni Urriaghel, next comes Gzennaya, and Galiya is probably third. The Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa, although they inhabit a relatively large territory, are not numerous; they are nomadic in habit and occupy a sparsely vegetated terrain.

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One might divide the Rif geographically into three parts, eastern, central, and western. The eastern part would comprise Kebdana, Galiya, Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, and Tafersit. The central portion would comprise Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Targuist, and Bokoya. The western part would be the maritime tribes, as they might be called — Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, Mestassa, and Mtiwa.

[1] In giving these tribal names I have used the common Arabic equivalents for the Berber originals, since to render the Berber names as they are actually pronounced would involve a confusing use of phonetic symbols and would, furthermore, prevent the use of a standard system, since pronunciations of these names vary from tribe to tribe and in some cases within tribes.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

131 619 **Senhaja.** To the west and southwest of the Rif, nowhere touching the Mediterranean seaboard, is the Northern Senhaja, which may be divided into the Senhaja Sghir, or Little Senhaja, and the Arabophone Senhaja, composed of tribes extending to either side of the nuclear group. The Little Senhaja contains eleven tribes: Zarket, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Naar, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, Beni Hamid, Beni Beshir, Bani Bu Shibet, Beni Berber, Taghzuth, and Ktama. To these may be added Beni Mesduy, a tribe of two villages compressed between Targuist, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, and Zarket. Politically, Beni Mesduy is divided between Targuist and Zarket; geographically, it is thrust into the side of the Rif; linguistically, it is Senhajan. Since the Beni Mesduy speak the same Senhajan dialect as the people of Zarket, and consider themselves to be remotely descended from the same ancestors, they are usually classed as Senhajan by the Riffians living near them.

197 Although this is not a work on linguistics, some reference to language cannot be avoided. The Riffians speak a peculiar dialect of Berber called *thamazighth*, which seems to be most typically represented in the central region, and grades into the Zenatan idiom as one passes eastward toward the Muluya. The people of Targuist have lost their Berber speech, speaking Arabic domestically, and the same is true to a lesser extent of the Beni Bu Frah, many of whom are ignorant of Berber. The peoples of Mestassa and Mtiwa are losing it rapidly.

The dialect spoken in the Senhaja Sghir, although possessing local differences between tribes, is distinctly different from any dialect of the Rif, and cannot be understood without study by a Riffian. Riffian and Senhajan speakers of Berber are forced to employ Arabic as a means of communication.

The Senhajan tribes which speak only Arabic are divided into two groups, those to the east of the tribe of Mtiwa dial Jbil (to be distinguished from the Riffian maritime tribe of Mtiwa, called, to avoid confusion, Mtiwa dial Bhar) and those to the west of it.

The Eastern Arabophone Senhaja contains nineteen units generally considered as tribes. These are Marnissa, Beni Krama, Branes, Amshesh, Beni Wenjin, Fenassa, Beni Ulid, Zrarka, Bu Adl, Beni Koraa, Ain Mediuna, Bab Wendar, Muziet, Rgheiwa, Aghbalu, Khunduktamda, Ulad Brahim, and Beni Bu Slama. Amshesh and Beni Bu Slama are but single settlements, occupied by religious devotees, the former located on the border between Beni Amart and Marnissa, and the latter between Beni Hamid and Beni Wenjin. Both retain Berber speech of the Senhajan variety. Zwawa, a small village of the tribe of Fenassa, likewise preserves Berber speech. Taunat el Uta, a village politically affiliated with the non-Senhajan tribe of Mtiwa dial Jbil, is said to be of Senhajan origin, and hence is included with the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja.

The Western Arabophone Senhaja, extending from the western border of Ktama to and beyond the city of Sheshawen, is perhaps not as purely Senhajan as the Eastern division. It includes the tribes of Beni Hamid Sorak, Ghazawa, and el Khmes, and two isolated villages separate from the rest — Taseghudra, in the midst of the non-Senhajan tribe of Beni Zerwal, and Taghzuth, in Beni Hassan of the Ghomara. The latter lays claim to being an offshoot of the tribe of Taghzuth and preserves Senhajan speech.

Beni Hozmar, a tribe to the northwest of Sheshawen, is said to be Senhajan, but data are difficult to obtain, owing to the fact that the Riffian army in their advance on Tetwan during the recent war utterly destroyed the village of these people, and whatever inhabitants survived scattered, leaving their home territory uninhabited.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

131 619 **Ghomara.** The third great region is the Ghomara, which extends along the Mediterranean coast from Wed Uringa to Wed Lao, and is separated from the Senhaja by the main mountain crest. It is divided into eight tribes, Beni Ziat, Beni Zejel, Beni Selman, Beni Bu Zra, Beni Mansur, Beni Grir, Beni Smih, and Beni Rezin.

197 Of these Beni Bu Zra retains Berber speech in fairly complete form, and all the others employ Berber words mixed with Arabic. This Ghomaran dialect has never been studied, but seems to resemble Riffian more closely than does Senhajan, in that Riffian and Ghomaran are mutually comprehensible.

131 619 **Other Berber Groups.** This work is confined to a consideration of the Riffians, Senhajans, and Ghomarans because my material covers these groups only, and not because they are the only recognizable Berbers of northern Morocco. In the peninsula which culminates at Tangier and Ceuta lives another group, the Anjera, which although Arab in speech is distinctly Berber in appearance, and which is said to be related to the Riffians; to the south and west of the Senhaja are other tribes, such as the Beni Zerwal, which are certainly not Arab in origin.

The term *Jebala*, from the Arabic word for mountain, is generally used to distinguish the Ghomara, the Arabophone Senhaja, and the other Berber tribes of the northwest from the Riffians and from the Arabs. This term is unfortunately inexact, and hence is not employed in this work to designate any specific area.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY

133 The most important topographical feature of this region is the high mountain chain which bends southward from Tetwan into the heart of the Senhaja Sghir, and then resumes an eastward course through the Rif until it fades down into a series of hills in Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi to crop up again, thrusting northeastward, in Galiya, and carrying the land of that tribe out into the Mediterranean at the Cabo Tres Forcas. Although the crest of this range is in most places nearly thirty miles from the Mediterranean coast, the shore line itself is rough and craggy, since the mountains carry much of their height to the very water's edge, where they descend with a sharp drop. The mountains are higher in the west than in the east. Adhrar Tidighin, partly in Beni Khennus and partly in Beni Seddath, is the highest in the range, reaching an altitude of 2,549 meters [1] in one peak and 2,455 meters [1] in another; it is covered on the north side with a permanent layer of snow. Although Tidighin is the highest peak, it does not far surpass its neighbors. Between Taghzuth and Beni Bu Nsar, slightly southeast of Tidighin, is another mountain of great height and majesty, called the mountain of Taghzuth, 2,330 meters [1] high. In the Rif itself the highest points of the divide are Kuin, 1,883 meters,[1] and Tizi Uzli, 2,006 meters,[1] both in the Gsennaya. The Jebel Hammam, in Beni Urriaghel, attains about the same height, 1,948 meters, [1] but does not fall in the direct line of the watershed.

The divide itself runs between the Ghomara and the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja; it separates Ktama from Mtiwa of the Rif, and Beni Seddath and Beni Khennus from Beni Bu Nsar (although in truth these three tribes might be said to perch on top of it); runs through Zarket, setting Targuist on one side and Beni Hamid on the other; and cuts through the middle of Beni Amart, along the range of Tizi Ifri, and across the top of Gsennaya, along

[1] Map issued by the Service Géographique du Maroc, Rabat, March, 1926. Scale, 1: 20,000.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MX3 Rif MX3

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[Facing p. 64]

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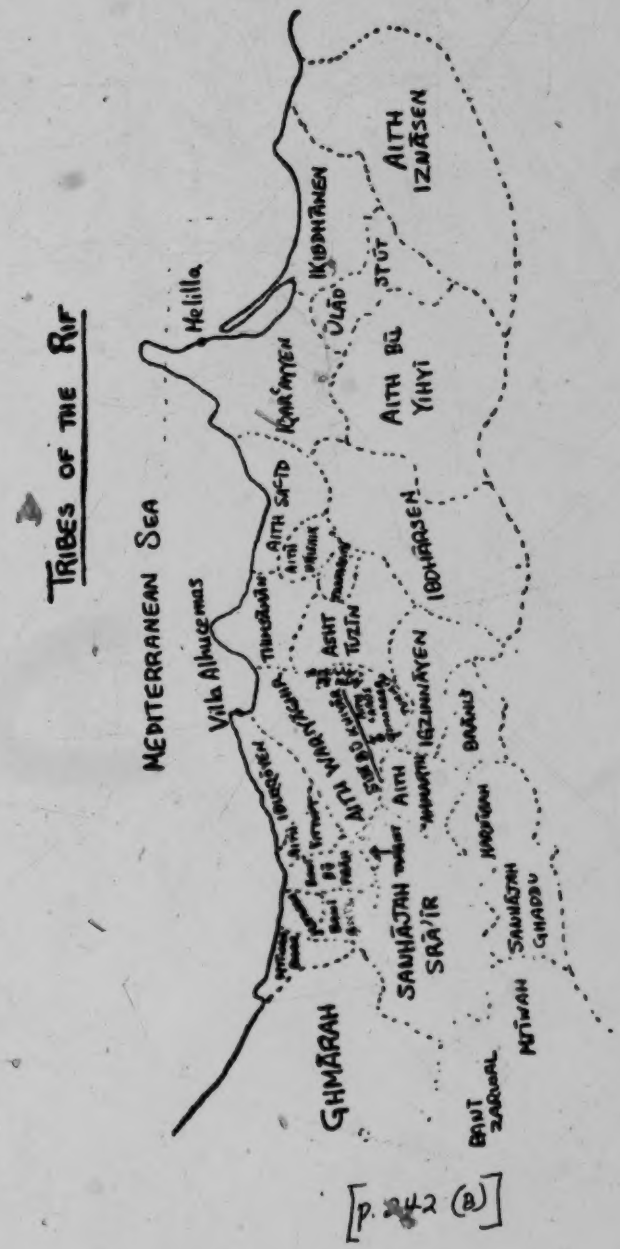
TRIBES OF THE RIF
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Vila Alhucemas
Melilla
GHMĀRAH
SAHĀJTH SRĀ'IR
AITH IZNĀSEN
AITH BŪ YIHYĪ
IBDHĀSEN
AITH IZZINNAYEN
AITH WARYAGHAR
AITH SA'ID
AITH TUZIN
KEBDĀNEN
KARĀMYEN
BAQQŪYA
BENI ZAROUAL
MTIWAH

[p. 242 (B)]

S: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

423 A curious feature of Rifian society is that the territorial limits of its social units are to a certain extent elastic. An individual or a family, for example, may acquire land in another tribe, and his or their own clan or tribe does not appropriate for itself the territory he occupied previously; this remains fixed. But when [628] the properties of an individual or a kin group which are modified are bordering each other, then the jma'th, clan or tribe, or rather, its area of extension or its areal jurisdiction, follows an analogous variation, improvement or cutting-off, increase or loss, advance or retreat, as the case may be; and such instances bring about not a few 423 quarrels and altercations. This happened in Ibuqquyen, whose people 619 saw their neighbors of Aith Waryaghar creeping into their territory through slowly buying up all the good land around the middle course of the Buhan River, at which point they opposed selling them any more terrain...This territorial elasticity, although it does not bring about great modifications because of the incessant watch which the tribes instinctively keep over their land, also derives, no doubt, from the ancient family concept of opposition to everything which could weaken it; and, as a result, such land returns most often to its tribe of origin through abandonment, new acquisition or exchange, if it has been alienated. Such elasticity tends to become lessened (with consequently greater rigidity of tribal boundaries) when it coincides [131] with natural boundaries, as, for example, in the middle and upper courses of the Nkur River, separating the tribes of Axt Tuzin and Aith Waryaghar; but even so, this play of property has nevertheless modified tribal frontiers as well delineated as this one.

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[619] H) The Traditional Jma'ths of the Aith Waryaghar:

In the tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, which possesses an extremely complex social structure[114].....the traditional jma'th contains nuclei so scattered that it is not rare to see them within all three qa'idates into which, at the present day (1935) and from an administrative viewpoint, the tribe is divided. Within the [648] Arab and Makhzin, or governmental, framework into which an attempt has been made to fit the organization of the Rifian tribes, this fact presupposes an almost insuperable administrative impossibility, that of making them (i.e. the traditional jma'ths) revive. The [643] mosaic of the traditional jma'ths was one over which the chief himself (e.g. 'Abd al-Krim) stumbled, and which he put aside instead of resolving, merely superimposing his own circumstantial wartime organization over it[115].

Let us look at a few of the pieces in this mosaic.

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131 1) Aith Mhand u Yihya:--A jma'th (of the clan of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari) which is found to be divided into two more jma'ths: one situated in the Plain of Alhucemas, and in the vicinity of the bridge over the Ghis River, and, for this reason, belonging to the Qa'idate of l-Uta (in Rifian, r-Udha, "plain"); and the other, the original, ancestral and founding one, situated south of the Suq r-Had or Sunday Market of Thisar[116], and belonging, administratively, to the Qa'idate of the Upper Ghis.

2) Ixatshumen (mountain pronunciation) or Ikttumen (Plain of Alhucemas pronunciation, and written in Arabic as Ikiltumen):--This traditional jma'th (also of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari clan) is also

621 631 131 divided into two others of the same name, to which is added the geographical denomination of "mountain" or "plain", according to the location of each. Each one of these two divisions, like those of the Aith Mhand u Yihya, belongs to two different qa'idates: the mountain group, which is south of the women's market called Suq r-Had n-Tingharin (Sunday Women's Market")[117] at Iswiqen, to the Qa'idate of Nkur; and the plains group, in the vicinity of Imzuren, to the Qa'idate of l-Uta. The originating group is the mountain one.

3) Isrihan:--This jma'th (again of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari), again, is divided into two others: the mountain part, in the folds of the Jbil Hamam[117a], belongs to the Qa'idate of Nkur, and the lowland part, in the Buham Plain and known as Isrihan n Buham, belongs to the Qa'idate of l-Uta[118].

4) Bu Minqadh:--This jma'th (of the clan of the Aith 'Ari) presents a further complication, that of a three-fold division: the founding and original section, in Sidi 'Abd Allah u Yusif, near the women's market at Iswiqen, is in the Qa'idate of Nkur; while of its two offshoots, both in the Qa'idate of l-Uta, one if near Thamasind and the other is found down in the plain near Imzuren. There is thus a Mountain Bu Minqadh, a Foothills Bu Minqadh, and a Plains Bu Minqadh.

5) Aith 'Aziz:--There are today two jma'ths (of the clan of the Imrabdhen) of this name, one in Thamasind and the other in Imzuren; and although both are located within the Qa'idate of l-Uta, this fact is purely coincidental.

621 6) Thamasind:--There are two jma'ths of this name: one is called Thamasind n Dara (Upper Thamasind), and the other, Thamasind n

621 typical terms, like that of amghar, since the institution of the
646 Aitharba'in, formerly an authentic democratic power, seems to have
182 depreciated and is now dormant.

621 The traditional Rifian jma'th according to my way of thinking and to the results of my own investigations, is not limited to an administrative unit, but was rather the essential administrative, gubernatorial and judicial organ. The jma'th was the sovereign, [114] such a wide concept, such an interesting collective entity and so little known to me that if I tried to define it precisely, now, at the present state of my knowledge, I would imagine the results to be erroneous.

131 Regarding the geographical regions considered in the order
631 listed above, the Aith Waryaghar are reduced to three, which correspond approximately to the three qa'idates into which the tribe is divided: the region of the plan or the Qa'idate of l-Uta; the valley of the Upper Nkur River, or Qa'idate of the Nkur; and the valley of the Upper Ghis River, or Qa'idate of the Ghis[137]. Any other administrative division which might be made would not correspond with the same precision to the topography of Aith Waryaghar, for, in its geographical synthesis, this tribe is nothing more than the Ghis-Nkur
614 watershed. If a greater fractionizing does not seem necessary from a
631 geographical viewpoint, in order to maintain the subdivision of the tribe in its six present clans, five of them of ancient lineage and the sixth, that of the Jbil, imposed by necessity[138], with a shaikh at the head of each one because of the large territorial area which it covers, larger in some cases than that of other whole tribes, it is

623 116--This market was located in the exact center of the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar, at the point of convergence of all three qa'idates (I-Uta, Upper Ghis and Nkur) alluded to above, and all questions of import to the whole tribe were usually settled or decided there. Imgharen from all of Aith Waryaghar came to this market when the full tribal council was convoked.

The Sunday Market at Thisar has ceased to exist since the Spanish pacification of the Rif; the Spaniards moved it slightly north to Thamasind, a market, also held on Sundays, which is attended only by members of the immediate subsegments in the vicinity, and which is much smaller, in size and status, than its predecessor.

443 117--For more detailed descriptions of women's markets, see Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Zocos de Mujeres en Beni Uriaguel", Africa, Madrid, May 1943, pp. 22-23, as well as two works of our own, D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Rifian Tribe of Aith Waryaghar", Tamuda, vol. 2, no. 1, 1954, pp. 51-86, and "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, vol. 6, no. 2, 1958, pp. 171-237. (Specific references in the two latter cases are from pp. 80-1 and pp. 201-3 respectively).

Some recapitulation, however, is necessary for the purposes of the present work. Special women's markets, which men are forbidden to attend, are not uniquely Rifian, for they are also reported for the tribe of Ihahan on the Sus coast between Mogador and Agadir. Montagne (op. cit., 1930, pp. 251-2) thinks that because in both the Sus and in the Rif they are more or less confined to the coastal area, they may, through their rigid segregation of the sexes, reflect a greater degree of Islamization in these areas, for they are not to be found anywhere in the Atlas. Sánchez Pérez, who also cites the existence of women's markets in Ihahan, favors a diffusionist theory in accounting for their presence in such widely separated areas as the Rif and the Sus.

This kind of thinking must be relegated to the realm of idle speculation. More important, however, is the rationale which Sánchez Pérez gives for the existence of women's markets. He says that the Aith Waryaghar themselves cannot account for the origin of this phenomenon (which is true); but when he states that they ascribe it to the need for the continuance of commercial interchange during the Republik, when all segments and subsegments of the tribe were perpetually at feud, and when only women, as non-combatants, were respected and came, in effect, to handle normal business transactions during such emergencies, he is, I strongly suspect, putting words in their mouths. His argument falls of its own weight, for why, then, should regular weekly markets (i.e. non-women's markets) continue to function all through siba, as they did? He does not take into consideration the primary raison d'etre of the Rifian market, which Blanco correctly interprets as a "place of peace"; for market day was the one non-feuding day (with Friday, perhaps, a poor second) of the week!

443 The truth of the matter, very probably, is that because the men of the Aith Waryaghar have always zealously guarded their womenfolk and have never let them attend normal markets (although this has broken down somewhat as a result, possibly, of greater security

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

FOOTNOTES:

000 1--With varying degrees of success, most so in the Middle and Central Atlas, and least so in the Sus and Anti-Atlas. The inclusion of the Algerian Kabyles and Shawdya of the Auras in this connection invites other problems.

[114] 2--Blanco is mistaken here, for the Arabization of the Rif was the work not of Spain but of 'Abd al-Krim; and in view of this paramount fact, his plea for a return to a hypothetical state of "pure customary law", however eloquently expressed it may be, seems passe and academic.

3--Hardly. In any case, this is a more difficult and delicate problem than meets the eye, although even on an a priori basis it seems reasonably safe to assume that the Arabization of custom is the commoner of the two phenomena. However, for a documented example of Berberization of the Shari'a, see S. Biarnay, "Un Cas de Regression vers la Coutume Berbère chez une Tribu Arabe: Wadras", Archives Berbères, vol. I, no. 4, 1916, pp. 219-229. Wadras is an Arabic-speaking tribe, but one of indisputably Berber origin, in the Northwestern Jbala, between Tangier and Tetuan.

671 177 195 113 4--Most of the existing accounts of the political history of these cities, insofar as it is known, are based on Ibn Khaldun, Histoire des Berbères, translated by Baron MacGuckin de Slane, 4 vols., Paris 1925-56. See E. Michaux-Bellaire, Le Rif, Paris 1925; Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 22-36; Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Datos Historicos Sobre Ciudades Rifeñas", Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos realizados durante el curso de Interventores, 1951-52, Tetuan 1952, pp. 29-47, and, for a synopsis account of Nakur only, Angelo Ghirelli, Pueblos Arabes y Pueblos Arabizados, vol. II--Pueblos Arabizados, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957, pp. 142-45. These last accounts have little 175 to add to Ibn Khaldun, although Sánchez Pérez was correctly able to locate the now entirely buried ruins of the city of Nakur within the village limits of Aith Bu Qiyadhen, subclan of Aith 'Adhiya within the clan territory of Aith Bu 'Ayyash in the tribe of Aith Waryaghar, on the west bank of the Nakur River some 25 km. from Alhucemas. This is [113] confirmed by a subsequent report of Ahmed el Mekinasi, in Tamuda, Año VII, Semestre II, 1959, pp. 156-8.

The city of Nakur, in fact, has the distinction of housing the first Muslim dynasty (even though on a local level only) in Morocco, as it was founded in 726 A.D. by an Arab from the Yemen, Salih ibn Mansur al-Himyari. Despite being sacked on two separate occasions (once by Norman pirates in 859-60, and again in 929-30 by Musa ibn Abi l-'Afya), Salih's descendants continued to hold, govern and rebuild the city aided and abetted by the Umayyads in Spain, until a complete sacking by the Almoravid sultan Yusuf ibn Tashfint in 1084 ended its career forever. Between this point and the end of the 19th century, the history of the Rif is an almost complete blank, and the chances of any documentary material in Arabic turning up to bridge the gap in any way are remote.

● [131] Two points of general interest, however, emerge from ibn Khaldun's material (which dates from the 14th century and is in turn largely

taken verbatim from an 11th century chronicler, al-Bakri): 1) that most of the present Rifian tribes (of which several, including the Bni Waryaghal, Gzinnaya and Marnisa [the last today Arabic-speaking] are mentioned by name) then occupied more or less the same tribal areas, with respect to each other, that they do today; and 2) that vis-a-vis the members of the Salihid dynasty of Nakur, they were the "barbarians at the gates", ready to help pillage the city at a moment's notice when a strong man appeared from outside, and possibly also backsliding from the new religion of Islam. We thus have evidence that the present Rifian tribes have been in the Rif for at least a millenium, and that their reputation as troublemakers goes back to that time! No archaeological excavations, prehistoric, early historic or Islamic, have been made in the region at all, to date.

5--The paper which Blanco refers to is probably L. Milliot, "Nouveaux Qanuns Kabyles" in Hespéris, 1926; these qanuns were written up by the Kabyles in very bad French, and not in Arabic at all!

6--The Spaniards never had any option of recognizing an "area of custom" in Northern Morocco, because the fact of 'Abd al-Krim's already firm implantation of the Shari'a gave them, in effect, little or no say in the matter. This is a fundamental fact which Blanco continued to overlook.

7--Raqba, literally "neck" in Arabic, "bloodfeud, vengeance" in Kabyle. The proper term in Rifian is r-'adhawth (from Arabic l-'Adawa), literally "hatred", while aminghi (from Berber ngh, "to kill") is "struggle, fight, battle".

7a--Market day in the Rif is, in effect, the most sacred day in the week; the market is a place of peace and commercial transaction, and it is harim; to try to carry on a feud in the market, or to kill or wound a person there is haram. The market was, indeed, so much the only place of peace in the Rif that the fine for murder within its limits was 2000 duros, double that for murder on any of the market roads. These fines were paid by murderers and/or their agnates to the imgharen and split up in more or less equal parts among the tribes or segments of tribes who formed the constituents of the market in question. Whenever a real fight started, the market was considered to have been "broken" (yarraz s-suq) for that day. Everyone attending went home at once, but the following week the market was open for business again.

8--Mkhazni: a soldier of the Moroccan government of Makhzin who is a member of a special unit, the Mkhazniya (today, since independence, Makhzin Mobile, or "Forces Auxiliaires"), and has nothing to do with the regular army.

9--These are both "fighting" words in Rifian: mmis nj-haram, literally "sons of the forbidden", casts grave doubts, in the speaker's mind, about the legitimacy of the ancestry of the person spoken or referred to, while mmis n-dhit, although it might mean "son of the eye" to someone unacquanted with finer shades of meaning in the Rif, means in fact "son of the anus", and as such, it speaks for itself.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 1

SOCIAL HISTORY

133 The Rif is a chain of rugged mountains stretching along the Mediterranean coastline from the Strait of Gibraltar to the Moulouya River. Composed almost entirely of sedimentary and metamorphic rock, it is an extension of the Cordillera Penibotica of Spain. While the mountains are somewhat lower than those of the Atlas, they are just as steep. The invaders of Morocco invariably skirted the Rif and proceeded through the Taza Corridor. If the mountains are foreboding, the coastline is no less so. [504] The entire stretch from Río Martin to Melilla is devoid of ship shelter except for the break in the bay of Alhucemas, the small cove at Puerto Capaz, and the deltas of Wad Lao, Rhis, Nekor, and Bados.

133 131 The area which will be discussed is located in the center of this mountain chain in what is now called the Province of Alhucemas. The Tamazight-speakers of this region lived, until very recently, in a social and economic backwash. The presence of a rugged, inaccessible coast isolated them from Mediterranean contact except for the few points mentioned above. The mountain chain, on the other hand, served as an effective barrier to the interior of the country. The Rif was thus isolated from the rest of Morocco by natural boundaries. The social and political consequences of this shall be discussed below.

132 mean would be somewhat higher in the highlands, the range of
[243] variation would be as great. Since the economic backbone of the area is the dry farming of cereals, low rainfall or drought causes serious difficulties.

175 The history of the Rif presents us with the strange paradox that it is better documented for the eleventh and twelfth centuries than for the nineteenth. We have several written chronicles of the Arab city states established along the Mediterranean, such as Nekor which drops out of history in the eleventh century, and Bades which was captured by the Spanish in the sixteenth century. Of the Berbers in the hinterland we have
[113] little material with the exception of el-Badisi's Lives of the Saints of the Rif (French translation by Colin, 1926) dated 1311, and el-Bekri's Description de l'Afrique septentrionale from the eleventh century. El-Bekri notes that already in that time most
[131] of the present tribes of the Rif were located in their present sites (Michaux-Bellaire, 1925: 180-181). Between these accounts,
[648] fragmentary at best, and the uncritical chronicles of Spaniards leading punitive expeditions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Riffian history is rather blank.

175 Geographical circumstances made the Central Rif peripheral
648 to most events going on in Morocco. Only with the insistence of the Spanish government did the Moroccan Sultan send an expedition into the Rif in the late nineteenth century to punish the Ibuqquyen for piracy. During the early years of the present

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE "NORTHERN ZONE"

101

MOROCCANS refer to their country as al-Maghrib al-Aqsa: the "Far West" of the Muslim world (fig. 1). From 1912 until 1956 it was divided into three zones: 175 French Morocco, Spanish Morocco, and the International Zone of Tangier. In 131 March, 1956, a joint declaration was signed by representatives of France and 648

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Fig. 1. Morocco: orientation map.

Morocco, restoring independence. Within a month Spain resigned its protectorate, 131 and before the end of the year the international regime was abolished. Moroccan 648 governors promptly replaced the European administrators. Spanish Morocco ceased to function as a separate political unit, although it continued to be recognized as the northern zone. In this study the expressions "northern Morocco" 101 and "northern zone" refer to the area previously under Spanish and international 128 control.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

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Fig. 2. Northern Morocco: tribal divisions.

/p. 2/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

The northern zone includes an area of about 20,000 square kilometers, roughly one-tenth of Morocco. The maximum width of the zone, from the Strait of Gibraltar to Wad Lukkus, is about 100 kilometers. The maximum length, from the Atlantic coast to Wad Moulouya, is about 340 kilometers. In 1950 the population of the zone was estimated at one million, including 85,000 Europeans in the Spanish protectorate, and another 150,000 Europeans in the cities of Tangier, Ceuta, and Melilla.

Territorial Divisions

Tribesmen of northern Morocco recognize three main confederations: Rif, Ghmara, and Sanhaja as-Srair (fig. 2). Most tribesmen recognize also a territory known as Jbala, the Arabic word for "mountains" or, in this case, "hills." There is no traditional name for the area west of a line drawn through Arcila and Ksar al-Kebir. In the Rif, tribesmen of the Atlantic coastal area are described as Igharbiyen (westerners). The Spanish referred to this area, approximately the basin of Wad Lukkus, as "Lucus." The easternmost sector of the protectorate, roughly the basin of Wad Kert, was known as Quert. The Moroccan government retained this division until August, 1958, when the northern zone was reorganized into larger territories.[1] In the discussion to follow, reference is made to the traditional divisions, not to territories established in recent decades.

The confederacy of Ghmara consists of nine tribes: Bani Bu Zra, Bani Mansur, Bani Khalid, Bani Silman, Bani Siyyat, Bani Zejal, Bani Rzin, Bani Grir, and Bani Smih. It is proper to use the prefix *bani*, Arabic for "sons of," since only a few villages in Bani Bu Zra and Bani Mansur retain Berber speech. According to tradition, these tribes are descendants of the nine sons of an immigrant schoolmaster named Aghmir.[2] Whether this explanation is historically accurate is unimportant. The significant point is that the Ghmaran tribes have a sense of belonging together through descent from a common, if perhaps hypothetical, ancestor.

The confederacy of Sanhaja as-Srair is formed of ten tribes: Ktama, Aith Seddath, Bani Gmil, Aith Khannus, Taghzut, Aith Bu Nsar, Bani Bu Shibat, Bani Hmid, Aith Bashir, and Zarqat. Here it is proper to use *aith*, Berber for "people of," since the tribes thus designated still speak Berber domestically. On the southern slope of the Rif Mountains, in what used to be French Morocco, are two other Sanhajan confederations, Sanhaja Ghaddu and Sanhaja Musbah, but these groups no longer speak Berber and have little contact with the Sanhajans of the northern zone.

The limits of the Rif are more difficult to trace. Many Moroccans apply this term to the entire eastern half of the zone. Tribesmen living within the eastern area are more restrictive. Bani Bu Frah and Bani Yittuft are usually regarded as Rifian, although they have nearly lost Rifian speech. Mtiwa and Mistasa are disclaimed by both Rifians and Ghmarans; they may be the descendants of immigrants or exiles, for immigrant or exiled Rifians are found near Fez, at several locations in Jbala, and in the Oran department of Algeria. Targist presents a special problem: the cultural affiliation of this tribe has been obscured by the

[1] For further details see *L'Afrique Française*, November–December, 1958; and W. H. Lewis, "Rural Administration in Morocco," *Middle East Jour.*, 14 (1960), 45–60.

[2] J. Caro Baroja, *Estudios Mogrebies* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957), pp. 140–143.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3 ●
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

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Fig. 4. Northern Morocco: relief.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

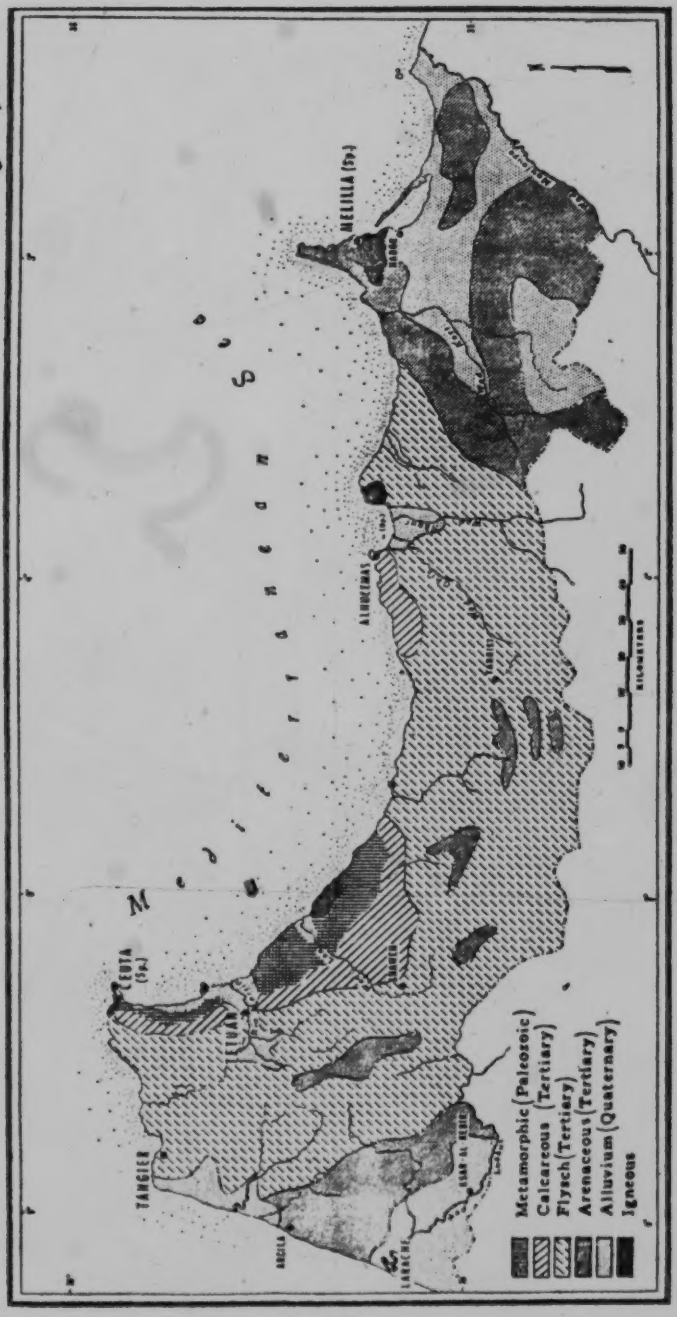

Fig. 5. Northern Morocco: surface geology.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

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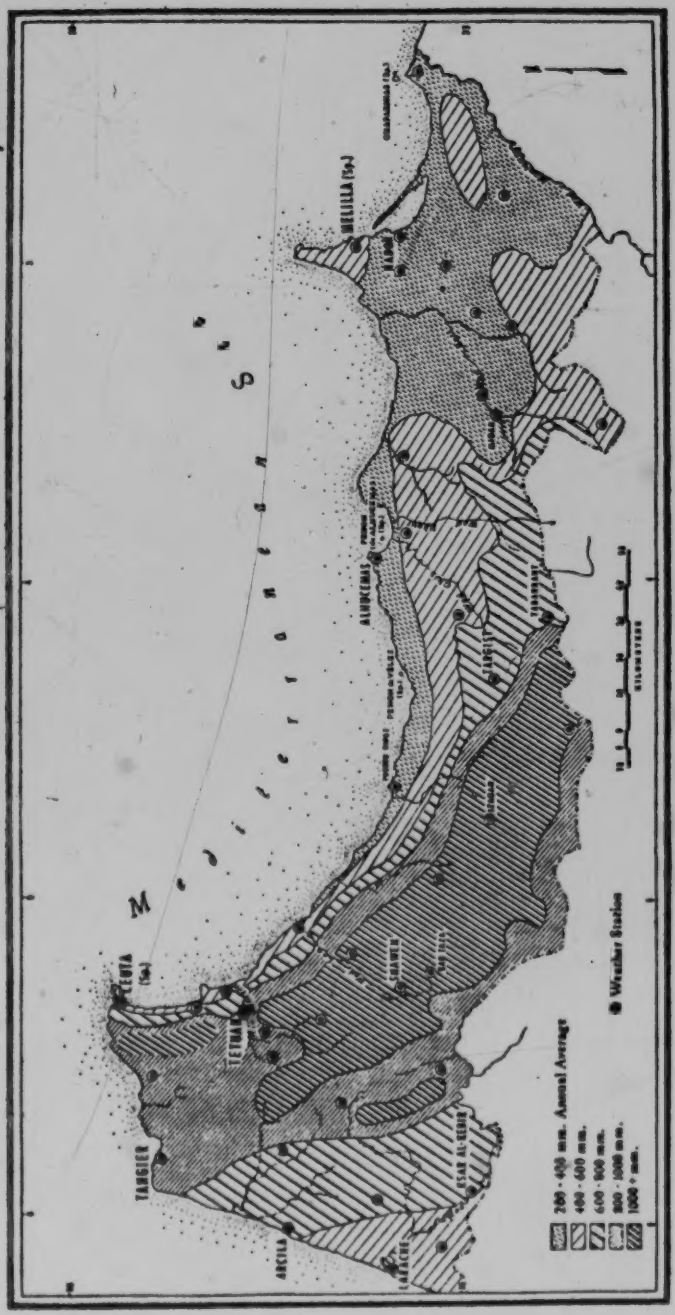

Fig. 6. Northern Morocco: precipitation, 1944–1955.

/p. 16/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

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Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

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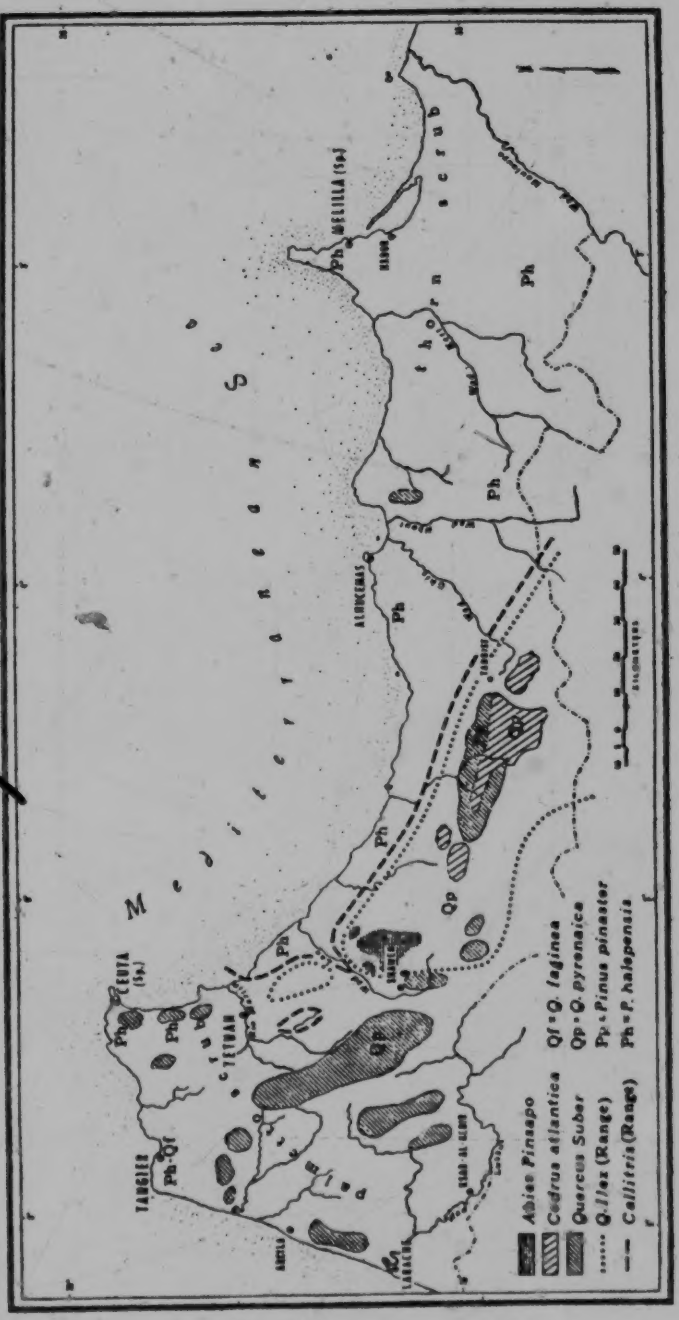

Fig. 8. Northern Morocco: distribution of forest and scrub.

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7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

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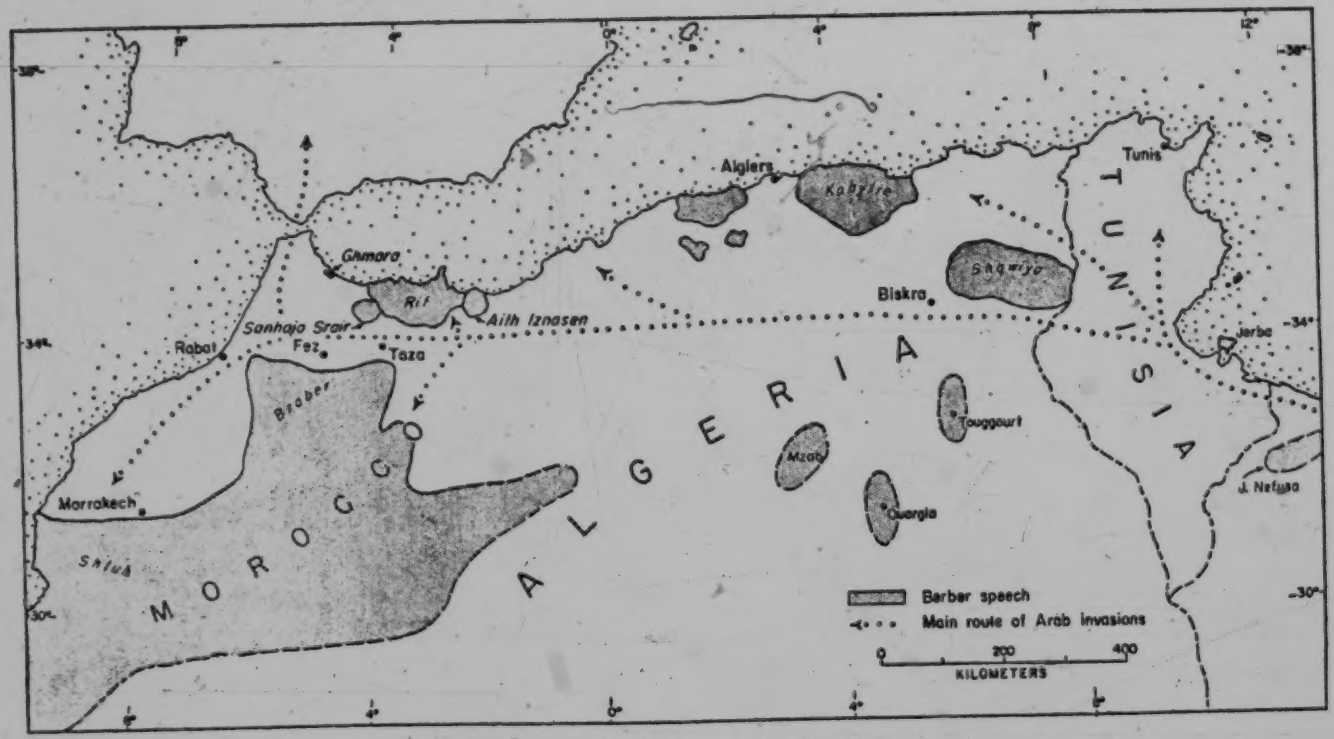

Fig. 9. North Africa: distribution of Berber speech.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3 ●
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

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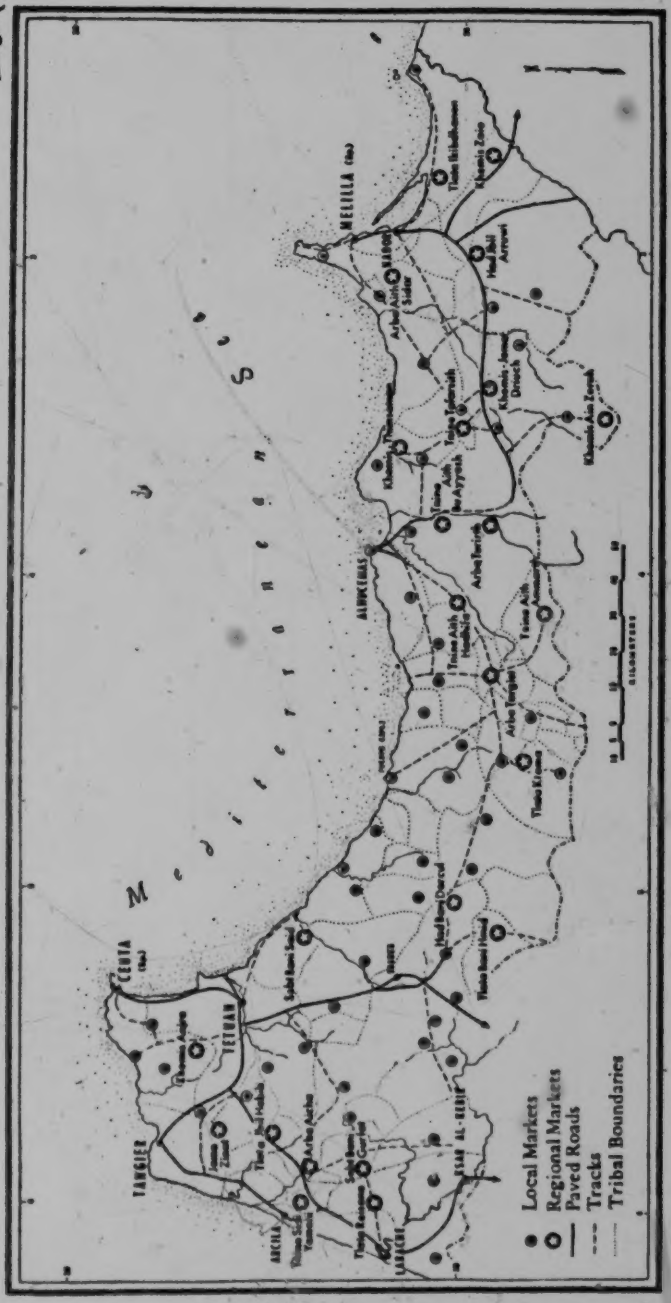

Fig. 24. Northern Morocco: tribal markets.

/175 cont./

631 619 634 In the heart of the Rif, among the Beni Ouriaghel, the Beni Touzin, and part of the Boqqoya, the organization is still looser (2).

2. The tribe of the Beni Ouriaghel, divided into five "khoms," presents a rather complicated social structure, which results both from the state of permanent war in which the families usually lived and the infertility of the soil, which disperses the inhabitants. Each "khoms" [131] possesses a principal territory in the mountains and enclaves in the plain or inversely. More- [792] over, the marabouts form a supplementary "khoms" scattered throughout the country. /This footnote is continued on the next page in the original source./

[578] In spite of this confusion and despite the habitual hostility of the family groups within the "khoms" and the "mouda^{c}," the boundaries of each fraction remain perfectly well known and it frequently happens that the internal quarrels subside in order to permit each khoms to enter into a struggle against a neighbor.

In all the Rif, only the Beni Ouriaghel have "khoms" whose territory is made up of separated parcels. Everywhere else, among the tribes of the Mtiwa, Beni Bou Frah, Beni Itteft, Boqqoya, Temsaman, the division into "khoms," very evident, cuts the country up into small units visibly equal in strength and area, whatever may be the geographic conditions of life.

792 578 /176/ The marabouts become incapable of opposing the development of anarchy; armed themselves, divided among themselves, like the common people, by private wars, they no longer have the necessary authority to make peace prevail in the assemblies.

/207 cont./

616 In putting these alliances back on the map, one perceives
648 immediately that the region in which the two leffs are still sometimes found fighting, among the western Jbala, also corresponds to the one in which the alliances are formed of smaller units. Two large opposed masses of Ghomara and Senhaja exist in the center of the mountainous chain. They are, on the one hand, [619] the Ghomara tribes properly speaking, to the southeast of [131] Tétouan /208/ between the Lao wadi, the Ouringa wadi, the crest of the chain of the Rif, and the Mediterranean; and, on the other hand, the Senhaja of Srair, of Gheddo, and of Mosbah, around the summit of the Tidighin and in the surroundings of the Wergha. Farther away, toward the East, reappears the almost regular alternation of tribes belonging to one or the other of the two leffs, but it happens at the same time that these are larger or more populous than in the western Jbel.

000 Finally, the tribes of the Gharb /Rharb/, of the Fès /Fez/ plain, and of the Taza corridor themselves enter by degrees, and as though by a desire for imitation, one might say, into the two great alliances of the North, without this adherence appearing to modify their historic role of tributaries that are turbulent and prompt to rebel against the Makhzen /makhzan/ of the towns of the North.

121 XIV. The formation of the leffs of the Ghomara and of the
178 Senhaja. -- A comparison of the present state of the north of Mo-
616 rocco with the one that is described for us by El Bekri at the end of the eleventh century permits seeing the nature of the transformations that occurred in this region and understanding the conditions under which were formed the two great leffs whose balanced distribution we observe today.

619 Eight centuries ago the territory of the Ghomara stretched
131 over a land much larger than the one that serves them as habitat today. To the West they reached as far as the river of Tétouan, and on all their western boundaries allied and friendly Masmoudian populations extended, forming a long band oriented from North to South, from the banks of the strait, passing by way of the Jbel

/208 cont./

619 °Alam, up to the Wergha. In particular they were the Koutama,
•131 Rehouna, Ghezawa, Beni Messara. Beyond, toward the West, in the Atlantic plain from Arzila to Anfa, the Beni Hassan, a Ghomarian population by origin, ensured, through the agency of the Berghwata, Doukkala, and Regraga, continuity of territory up to the Masmouda of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. The only
[563] foreign element was a small group of Senhaja settled around Tanger /Tangier/, jutting out in a point toward Tétouan (1).

1. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, p. 134; El Bekri, de Slane trans., Algiers, 1913, pp. 207-210. Moreover, we have utilized the manuscript notes of M. G.-S. Colin, who identified on the spot a certain number of the points mentioned by El Bekri.

[127]

To the south of the western Rif, the Ghomara united with the Masmouda /map appears here/ /209/ stopped at the Wergha. The
[616] Beni Zerwal, given by Ibn Khaldoun sometimes in the one or the
[648] other of the two leffs, rather appear to have been Ghomara, judging by their constant fights against their neighbors, Beni Ouriaglel of the Senhaja leff, fights that were prolonged from the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ up to our day (1).

1. Léon l'Africain, Vol. II, p. 300.

000 The left bank of the Wergha was then, as at present, held by small Senhaja tribes who were doubtless the Almoravide "gich" /gish; see pp. 477 and 480/ charged with keeping in awe the mountain populations of the North.

619 At the time, impossible to specify, when the Senhaja of
131 Srair had not yet advanced toward the north in the direction of the sea, and when they doubtless formed a single bloc with the Senhaja of Mosbah and of Gheddo, the Mtiwa, another Ghomarian population that we now find broken up into three tribes, were to extend from the sea to the Wergha through the present-day

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 283]

2: Montagne--280 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh
Rif MX3

/Left side of map facing p. 208 in the original source/

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2: Montagne--281 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh
Rif MX3

/Center part of map facing p. 208 in the original source/

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The two Leffs of the North of Morocco in the 20th century
The territories of the Tribes of the Senhaja àlam are shaded; those of the Ghomara àlam are in white

Scale 1/800,000

/"Sreir" is spelled "Srair" in the text./

2: Montagne--282 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh
Rif MX3

/Right side of map facing p. 208 in the original source/

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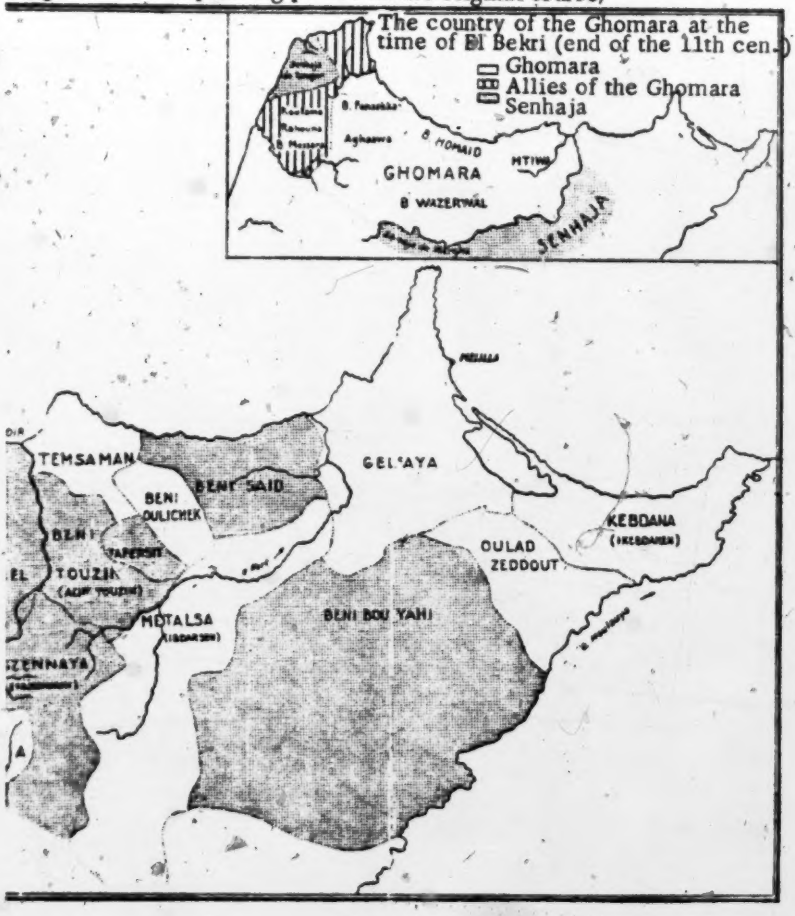

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619 .131 territory of the Koutama and of Taghzout. Badès, according to Idrisi, was the eastern limit of the bloc of the Ghomara; the present Spanish name of Peñon de Vélez de la Gomera would suffice to prove that it was their port.

To the East were still found, between Badès and Ghassasa, in the vicinity of the cape Tres Forcas, Senhajian and Ghomarian populations, which, in the first centuries of the Hejira, had constituted the kingdom of Nekor of the Banou Salih, before the destruction of the town of Nekor at the beginning of the eleventh century (2).

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, p. 139.

[648] Moreover it is not impossible that the internal wars that deeply disturbed the life of this small State were caused by the permanent hostility of the two races.

195 648 What were the historic causes of the attack led by the Senhaja against the country of the Ghomara? Already at the time of Idrisi in the twelfth century, the latter had suffered a serious check, since their territory had been reduced toward the South, to the advantage of the Senhaja, by a just punishment from God, "because of their numerous sins, the weakness of their Islam, their perseverance in practicing adultery with complete freedom," and all their other crimes (3).

[113] 3. El Idrisi, Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne /Description of Africa and Spain/, text p. 170.

It is the succession of defeats that they suffered that is alluded to, as we have seen, in the classification of "Bou Tyour," /210/ in which the Ghomara are represented by animals "capable of being eaten."

But it is not possible to explain solely by the advance of Senhaja elements, who doubtless came originally from the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/ for the acquisition of better lands,